ABSTRACT

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IBN ABI TARIQ IBN TAVURR (870-933)
NOTES TOWARD A BIOGRAPHY OF

INTRODUCTION

In spite of the considerable attention devoted to the ninth century by scholars, credit for the elaboration of the notion of *adab* in its meaning of literature, and especially in its meaning of prose writing, is given to and concentrated upon only a handful of writers. Articulation of a concept as nuanced as *adab* can therefore only benefit from a similarly nuanced theory of its development.

Ibn Abi Tahir (hereafter IAT) was a historian, poet, critic, anthologist and *bon vivant*, born in Baghdad in 820 to parents of Iranian origin. After a career in teaching, he moved to the Bookmen’s Market (*suq al-warraqin*) where he became a copyist-bookseller and author. He is primarily remembered by posterity as the first author of a history of Baghdad, the multi-volume *Book of Baghdad* [Kitab Baghdad], only volume six of which survives. The few surviving manuscripts, the titles of his lost works, and the countless anecdotes reported on his authority, in such works as Isbahani’s *Book of Songs* [Kitab al-Aghani] and Suli’s literary-historical collections, testify to his wide-ranging interests and his considerable contact with administrative, cultural, and literary personalities of his day. An enumeration of these individuals would constitute a veritable who’s who of ninth-century Baghdad; suffice to mention here those to whom he was close: Abu Hiffan (d. ca. 871), the transmitter and biographer of Abu Nuwas; the wit Abu al-Ayna (d. 896); the poet Abu Ali al-Basir (d. 865); the great patron and court companion Ali b. Yahya al-Munajjim (d. 888); and the state secretary and epistolographer Said b. Humayd (d. after 871). Among his teachers numbered the poet Abu Tammam (d. ca. 845).

IAT was many things to many people. He was the first author to write the history of Baghdad; the first historian also of the Abbasid caliphate; a poet widely known among the élite and the common folk alike; the premier articulator of a number of poetic themes; the author, according to his distinguished admirer Ibn Durayd, of one of the finest books ever written; an important source of poetical information (*akhbār*) for the florilegia of later centuries; and a significant editor and anthologist in his own right.

Though he may not appear to have had the same sort of impact as Jahiz (d. 868) and Ibn Qutayba (d. 889) — to single out two of the most mentioned and praised littérateurs — this view is in fact very much a function of received notions about classical Arabic literary culture. Ibn Qutayba, a pro-Arab state secretary of Iranian origin, and the product of the revival of the Sunni orthodoxy, was a publicist of the régime. And Jahiz, however brilliant his excursuses, expounded a personal and idiosyncratic literary style not separable from his connections with influential
Practical Sources

is a preliminary attempt to flesh out IAT and to construct something of a biography, simple questions such as Who was he? need to be answered. The following
instance, literary history, a knowledge of his circumstances is essential. In the first
in order adequately to understand the role of IAT in Arab cultural, intellectual,
the book trade, and composition are widely rehearsed in the sources.
the copyists, the copyist-bookseller, the calligraphers. IAT’s connection with books,
the production of books of their distribution. The trade of the
connected, the immediate source of the government’s power, and the
influence exercised from the government’s power..." (ibid. p. 199).
with whom IAT associated (Makdisi 1998; Toureqa 1996). Ibn Ali Tahir chose not to
were significant (Kipper, 1969). In a large proportion of his works, IAT's

Institutions.

For IAT however, neither patronage nor official policy were significant (Kipper, 1969).
Sources: Works by IAT

It is true that as a proportion of his entire corpus, precious little of IAT's oeuvre survives (see Toorawa, 1998 a). Even those volumes that are extant are parts of larger multivolume works, namely volume six of the Book of Baghdad (Ibn Abi Tahir, 1949), and volumes eleven, twelve, and thirteen of The Book of Prose and Poetry [Kitab al-Manthur wa al-Manzum] (Safwat, 1937; Kurd Ali, 1954; Ibn Abi Tahir, 1972, 1977). Indeed, for a great number of writers, often all that survives is an isolated manuscript, or the testimony of others (contemporaries or later scholars) that may or may not include quotations from otherwise lost works. The works of Ibn Aqil (d. 1119) are a case in point (see Ibn Aqil, 1970-71).

But the conspicuous neglect of certain writers, such as IAT, can only partially be explained by the absence of works. Sometimes even what is extant is ignored, unwittingly or intentionally. IAT’s remarks about the famous pre-Islamic collection of poems, the ‘Muallaqat’, in a surviving volume of the The Book of Prose and Poetry, for example, significant as they are about the process of collection and the identity of its collectors, went unnoticed and unacknowledged by medieval and modern historians of literature for eleven centuries, and have still to make a significant impact (but see Kister,1969; Bonebakker, 1971; and now Arazi, 1997).

NAME AND ORIGIN

Name

Full name. Ibn al-Nadim, Ibn Abi Tahir’s earliest informative biographer, lists his complete name as Abu al-Fadl Ahmad Ibn Abi Tahir Tayfur. Yaqut and Khatib, drawing largely from Ibn al-Nadim, refer to him in the same way. In the Book of Songs, in which he is indirectly quoted and directly cited more than seventy times, he is referred to primarily as Ahmad Ibn Abi Tahir and less often as Ibn Abi Tahir. The Ibn Abi Tahir in the History of Scientists [Tariikh al-Hukama] however (Qifti, 1903), is not our IAT.

Given name (ism). There is no doubt that Ahmad was IAT’s given name. In a report (khabar) emanating from Ibn Mihrawayh in the Book of Songs, he is called simply Ahmad b. Tayfur (Isbahani, 1927-73).

Agnomen (kunya). IAT’s agnomen (kunya), Abu al-Fadl, is occasionally used by the biographers and other writers. The agnomen Abu al-Fadl and the given name Ahmad were evidently a popular combination. Ibn Hajar (d. 1449) wrote a work, which does not survive, on people with such a combination of names (Rosenthal,
Abu Tahir Tayfur, but he appears to have been a member of a noble Persian family.

**Origins**

Abu Tahir Tayfur, as a learned writer, wrote extensively on various topics, including history and geology. His works have been influential in the field of Islamic history.

The Persians, for instance, in their geographical treatises, often mention the city of Baghdad as a place of great importance.

**Baghdad**

Baghdad, the capital of Iraq, was a center of learning and culture during the Islamic period. It was founded in the 8th century and grew rapidly, becoming one of the largest cities in the world.

The city was known for its intellectual activities, with many scholars and poets residing there.

**Professional designation (imam nasirī)**

Abu Tahir Tayfur's designation is that of an imam, which is a high religious title in Islam. He is known for his contributions to Islamic scholarship.

**Ibn al-Nadim**

Ibn al-Nadim was a well-known Islamic historian and scholar. His work, the *Kitab al-Fihrist*, is one of the most important sources of information on Islamic history.

**Ibn al-Muizz**

Ibn al-Muizz was another scholar who lived during the same period as Abu Tahir Tayfur. He was known for his works in history and geography.

**Ibn al-Tayfur**

Ibn al-Tayfur was a scholar who lived in the same period as Abu Tahir Tayfur. His works were influential in the field of Islamic history.

**Ibn al-Fardayn**

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**Ibn al-Fardayn**

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and from Khurasan, as his son’s relator name suggests. Also, the name Tayfur is only attested for north-eastern Iran (see further below). Ghayyad (1977) has faulted Brockelmann (1947) for asserting that IAT is descended from a princely Khurasanian family without textual support, but in all likelihood Brockelmann is extrapolating from Ibn al-Nadim’s “of the Khurasanian *abna* descended from a princely family”. The *abna* of Khurasan were the descendants of the original ‘People of Khurasan’ regiments (see Omar, 1976; Elad, 1986). They were, consequently, members of the Abbasid aristocracy. Their status was based not only on their membership (or forbears’ membership) in the loyal Khurasanian regiments that brought the Abbasids to power, but based also on their descent from Persian nobility (Crone, 1980). IAT himself describes the *abna* as being either of mixed Arab/Persian parentage (muwalladun), and thus presumably of low status vis-à-vis pure Arabs and pure Persians, or the sons of Persian notables/nobles (*dihqans*) (Ibn Abi Tahir, 1949). Huart’s conjecture that *Tayfur* derives from the Pahlavi *taka puthra*, “children/sons of the dynasty” (1909; Azarnush, 1988; Driver, 1957), and thus corresponds to Ibn al-Nadim’s *awlad al-dawlah*, is suggestive (Ibn al-Nadim, 1971), but there is no evidence that Ibn al-Nadim knew any Pahlavi.

**Tayfur, al-Tayfuri.** The word *tayfur* is a noun on a relatively rare pattern deriving from the root T-F-R. According to the major lexica, *taffara* means to jump, leap, bounce, rise, and *tayfur* consequently means a small bird or winged insect (Ibn Manzur, 1981). As noted above, Huart suggested that *tayfur* may come from the Pahlavi *taka-puthra*. It bears pointing out that the word *tayfur* has also been equated with the Greek comet *typhon* (Kennedy, 1957). This may account for the name Tayfur al-din (Comet of the Faith), the honorific of a Syrian mystic said to have been one of the spiritual mentors of Badi al-din Qutb al-Madhar (Ansari, 1960). Of interest is the fact that Tayfur, the name, is only attested in the post-classical Islamic period. It is to be found in none of the early name-catalogues (e.g. Justi, 1895). The earliest attestation is the late eighth/early ninth-century.

An author by the name of Ibn Abi Tayfur is mentioned by Ibn al-Nadim (Ibn al-Nadim, 1971). He is described as being from Jurjan, a province immediately neighboring Khurasan to the North and North-West. Tayfur b. Isa al-Bistami is the well-known mystic from Bistam in the Qumis province of Khurasan. The eleventh-century author of the *Tuhfa-yi Quibshahi* who bore the same name, probably did so deferentially. A man by the name of Tayfur was the legal *protégé* (*mawla*) of Khayzuran, mother of the caliph Harun al-Rashid and wife of the caliph Mahdi (Qift, 1903; Crone, 1980). He is not explicitly described as Iranian, but his genealogy is uncertain. The Muhammad b. Tayfur mentioned by Ibn al-Jarrah (d. 908) is described as the maternal uncle of the caliph Hadi (1953). Hadi’s mother
The name al-Ṭayfīn is also to be found in Andalusia. The town of Bagdad was a square in Bāṣirat al-Ṭayfīn, a certain Abu Bakr al-Ṭayfīn, a certain al-Abdal al-Ṭayfīn, a certain al-'Alī al-Ṭayfīn, a certain al-Abdal al-Ṭayfīn, a certain al-Abdal al-Ṭayfīn, a certain al-Abdal al-

Andalusian Tariffs of 1289 and Ibn Tayfur of Melilla to their Andalusian Tariffs of 1277. The reference to the incorporation into Seville in 1244 (Cambridge, 1977). And an Ibn Tayfur became King (maid) of Melilla, a city as the Tariffs. Ibn Said (1186) mentions an Arab Army’s Tariff in its own line (in present-day Portugal) came under the control of a local family of nobles known as the Tariffs. The reference name al-Ṭayfīn is also to be found in Andalusia. The town of Bagdad was a square in Bāṣirat al-Ṭayfīn, a certain Abu Bakr al-Ṭayfīn, a certain al-Abdal al-Ṭayfīn, a certain al-Abdal al-Ṭayfīn, a certain al-Abdal al-Ṭayfīn, a certain al-Abdal al-

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DATE AND PLACE OF BIRTH

Date of birth

All the sources, citing IAT’s son Ubaydallah, are agreed about the year of his birth, namely the time of the caliph Mamun’s triumphant entry into Baghdad from Khurasan in the year 204 H, which corresponds to the period extending from 28 June 819 to 16 June 820. Although no precise date is recorded, Khaqani (1962) takes the sources “at the time of Mamun’s arrival in Baghdad from Khurasan” literally and has IAT’s date of birth occur on the very day of Mamun’s arrival, Saturday 16 Safar, 204 H, i.e. Saturday 12 August, 819. But this is unlikely as the phrase “day of Mamun’s arrival” would no doubt have been used had it coincided precisely.

Place of birth

The sources are also agreed on Baghdad as the place of IAT’s birth. No mention is made of a specific location. From two anecdotes, we know that IAT lived in the area of Bab al-Sham (Suli, 1958; Yaqut, 1980). It seems reasonably likely that IAT was born in this area, or in Harbiyah, neighboring Bab al-Sham, perhaps in the Marawiza Quarter, that area of the suburb inhabited by people from Marw. The Marawiza Quarter lay about half a mile north of the Bab al-Sham (Syrian Gate) and was oriented East-West along the Dujayl Road, so-named for the canal that ran alongside it. To the east lay, among other things, the Orphan School (Kuttab al-Yatama). To the north was the Quadrangle of the Persians (Murabbaat al-Furs), “where a branch canal went off to the place known as the Shops of the Persian Nobles (Dukkan al-Abna)” (Le Strange, 1900). Of Bab al-Sham itself, Yaqubi (1883: 248), writing in or after 892, states that it was populated by people whose origins were in Balkh, Marw, and Bokhara.

EDUCATION

School

The first fourteen years or so of IAT’s life, from 819 to 833, approximately the time he would have spent in preparatory school (maktab or kuttab), span much of Mamun’s caliphate in Baghdad. It is the events of these years which are described in the one surviving volume of Ibn Abi Tahir’s history, the Book of Baghdad. They are not described from memory but collected rather from accounts carefully attributed to other akhbar-transmitters. But they are, nonetheless, events to which Ibn Abi Tahir must have been a young witness.
survive and that Ibn Al\'Abi Talib is to be found in only one of them. The Classification

Ibn Al\'Abi Talib, the serious critical attention has been paid to IAT's poetry. It is true that only

The Classification

Poet

1998-

and his works (see footnote)
author of the work. (see footnote)
acquisition. IAT’s interest in these overlapping areas, (1)
transmission of the works that have been written in Muhammad’s time (see footnote).

transmitter (man)

Professional Life

Post-Preparatory Education

Preparatory studies, suggestions about that period of the life must remain speculative.
cannot be continued. In the absence of any concrete evidence about this period,
recorded first in this collection. But contrary to this, the letters be anthologised in the
which explain his access to the letters of Muhammad. Perhaps it was this reading that
encouraged a particular master. Perhaps it was this reading that encouraged him the
influence of a particular master. Perhaps it was this reading that encouraged him the
school (Kahlid, 1931), but their peculiar professional relationships to IAT are not
are mentioned, such as Rayhani (Taqi, 1980; Ibn Ali, 1970-71) and Umar, b.
while he studied on his own. Several lectures and professors
beyond his preparatory education. It is not known whether IAT apprenticed with a
post-preparatory education

most of the works before he died. When his son was only fifteen (Kahlid, 1931).
more still in school. Muhammad’s later reports having seen
For example, is said to have begun composing his anthology, The Flower
writer and a poet were no doubt present. His student Muhammad’s, Dowid (d.
The preparatory school was the place where the seeds of IAT’s learning as a prose
of Modern Poets. But that influential work describes his verses as well-known and widely diffused (Ibn al-Mutazz, 1968). Judging from the two extracts Ibn al-Mutazz quotes - and indeed from much of Ibn Abi Tahir’s other poetry - it was probably a combination of the wit he displayed in his verses and his modern(ist) sensibilities that guaranteed them wide circulation (Abu Deeb, 1990). This poetic ability is recognised even by the relatively late Sakhwai (d. 1497) (Rosenthal, 1968) who calls IAT “a genuine poet and outstanding stylist”. And whilst IAT’s poetry may not have been collected into a single volume (diwan), even a cursory glance at the florilegia of the tenth and later centuries reveals that he continued to be widely quoted. The current tally is 127 extracts, comprising 417 lines (the partial listing in Azarnush [1988] is superseded by the collection in Toorawa [1998 a]).

**Teacher/Bookman**

The only categoric statement about IAT’s professions is made by Jafar b. Hamdan (d. 935) and may tentatively be translated as follows:

Ahmad Ibn Abi Tahir was a public schoolteacher (muaddib kuttab ammiyan). He then specialised (takhassasa) and established himself (jalasa fi) in the Bookmen’s Market in East Baghdad (Ibn al-Nadim, 1971).

This passage, which at first blush seems simply to recount the circumstances of IAT’s professional life, poses a number of problems that arise mainly from the difficulty in establishing precisely what is meant by several of the Arabic terms. It seems most likely that IAT first taught in a public school and then specialised by becoming a private tutor. There is no direct evidence that IAT became a warraq (bookseller, paper worker, copyist, stationer, publisher) per se upon moving to the Bookseller’s Market, but he does appear to have set up shop and/or residence there. Indeed, he might have simply moved there in order to have access to a literary scene that was becoming inevitably and inextricably linked to the market for knowledge and to the marketplace (see the analysis in Toorawa, 1998 a).

**Storyteller**

IAT’s storytelling has attracted the attention of no medieval or modern biographer in spite of Ibn al-Nadim’s explicit identification of him as one of the persons who wrote fables (khuraqfat) and evening stories (asmar) (Ibn al-Nadim, 1971). Ibn al-Nadim does not name any of IAT’s soirée or fable books in the section on storytellers but does mention the following four works in the IAT notice: (1) *The Education of Hurmuz Kisra Anushirwan* [Kitab Tarbiyat Hurmuz b. Kisra b. Anushirwan], (2)
involved in the many sectarian, doctrinal, and ideological issues of the day.

For the fact that he is one of very few writers who does not appear to have been
influenced by, reflects any tendencies of sectarian biases. He is in fact, especially interesting
because none of his works, or their

IATF is not about the doctrinal stances, party because none of his works, or their

Sufiism is more than a concept, a Shihab of poems', as it were.

But as the great writer Mawardi (d. 1057) observed about the poet Ibn-al-Rumi, one

his daughter Fatima and her husband Ali.

For his usurpation of the rights of the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad and
was the Sunna familyثن. Muqaddimah (1974), IATF accepts the Sunna as the basis of the Shihab

Kuta wa 84, the order of the caliphs and qadi is clearly reflected in the Sunna. Thus, a

in an article titled "Sufism in Egypt" of the Middle East Institute, 1995. The author of "Sufism"

No longer the place of writers to pronounce on the question of IATF's doctrinal

SECULAR AFFILIATION

century in the diffusion of the Book of Sindbad,

and more recently Stephen Behr (1987) has pointed out the importance of the

dated a paper presented at the "Mawardi and the "Nights" to the Mughal

Mawardi (1974) is specifically identified by Sufis in my study, as one of the

Omar al-Shamsi, famous philosopher, all with a connection to the 19th century.

IATF's century, the mind, was in fact formulated in the development of

mirror-for-princes works (fürstenspiegel).

stories [IATF composed and/or recognized. They also demonstrate IATF's interest in

al-Baghthwia wa al-Malik al-Hakim al-Rumi], these are no doubt the sorts of

Kings and the Wise, the Azamme King [Khabar al-Malik al-Dabbil wa al-Malik al-Must

and the Story of the Annex and the Expansion of Baghdad and Egypt, and (4) The Story of

The Account of the Great King and the Management and Administration of the

Bin Ali, Taraf Tayfur (820-893)
DATE AND PLACE OF DEATH

Date of death

Ibn al-Nadim, Yaqut and Khatib all cite IAT's son Ubaydullah for his father's date of death, the year 280 H, corresponding to the period extending from 23 March 893 to 12 March 894. Masudi (1974) also records this date, but without citing his source. Only Khatib (1931) indicates an exact date: the night of Tuesday 28 Jumada al-Ula 280 H. This corresponds to the night of Tuesday 15 August 893, correcting Rosenthal (1971).

Place of death

IAT was buried in the Bab al-Sham Cemetery (Khatib, 1931), i.e. in the neighborhood in which he lived later in life. The cemetery, which was built by the founder of Baghdad, the caliph Mansur, was probably the city's first. "In course of time much of its area came to be built over by the houses of the Harbiya and adjacent quarters, though as late as the beginning of the... tenth century... mention is made of this cemetery where personages of note were still buried" (Le Strange, 1900, emphasis added).

DESCENDANTS

IAT's son Ubaydullah

Abu al-Husayn Ubaydullah b. Ahmad b. Abi Tahir (on whom, see Toorawa (1998 c), is mentioned in the principal biographical notices devoted to his father. The only (extant) notices devoted exclusively to him are in The History of Baghdad and in the The Catalogue. Neither, however, provides much information about his life (e.g. his date of birth remains unknown). Because both say much about IAT, I quote them in full:

His son, Ubayd Allah b. Ahmad Ibn Abi Tahir, whose agnomen was Abu al-Husayn. He followed the example of his father in compiling and writing but he quoted less than his father did. Ahmad [= IAT] was also more knowledgable, skillful and brilliant in composition. Among the books of Abu al-Husayn was a supplement to his father's book about the history (akhbar) of Baghdad. His father wrote until the end of the period of Muhtadi, while Abu al-Husayn added traditions about Mutamid, traditions about Mutadid, traditions about Muktafi, and traditions about
there are materials in the pool and IAT (though he is very informed about him otherwise); (ii) does not
between Tabari and IAT. Ibn al-Farraj is thus (i) unaware of the connection between
December 999. However, Ibn al-Farraj makes no mention of a connection to
Ramadan 315 H. If November 927, the date of his death for Cordoba, 390 H, which corresponds
Ibn al-Farraj provides details such as Tabari’s date and place of birth in Baghdad in

perhaps Tabari was a grand-nephew of IAT (Ibn al-Farraj, 1983). Perhaps he is not a direct descendant
History of the learned men of Andalusia, suggests that he is not a direct descendant
perhaps the secret of Tabari’s (Ibn al-Farraj, d. 1013) in the ”Theory of the Angles of Andalusia
Abdalrahman b. Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Musa b. Ishmael, which is preserved in a notice that
Al-Muhanna al-Baghdadi

A poet by the name of Tabari, Muhammad, known as al-Muhanna al-Baghdadi

The mention of Umayyaldan in the biographical literature rests on the fact that he is

1911). survive but excerpts are quoted in later works (e.g., Ibn Khallikan, 1972; Maghzii,
this father’s history of Baghdad and its caliphs. Umayyaldan’s continuation does not
his father’s son, that be studied with this father and shall be a continuation of

Hawaqqal sides: Abu al-Husayn Ibn al-Abi Tahir [sic] died in the
Hawwaqal side: Abu al-Husayn Ibn al-Abi Tahir [sic], died in the
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Hawwaqal side: Abu al-Husayn Ibn al-Abi Tahir [sic], died in the

1983); (Ibn al-Nadim, 1971)
record the connection; or (iii) IAT and his *Book of Baghdad* had not reached Ibn al-Faradi’s attention. The latter is less likely because even if he did not have direct access to works by IAT, he would, at the very least, have had access to Razi’s history of Cordoba, known to be modeled on IAT’s *Book of Baghdad*. Humaydi’s contemporary, the great historian Ibn Hayyan (d. 1076) also mentions his compatriot Tahir but, like Ibn al-Faradi, does not tie him to IAT (Ibn Hayyan, 1983).

Tahir was an accomplished poet and man of letters who visited al-Mansur billah, the Almanzor of Spanish sources, who ruled as chief minister (*hajib* and *wazir*) during the first reign of the Spanish Umayyad Hisham II al-Muayyad: he was the de facto ruler of Islamic Spain from 978 to 1002. Tahir earned Mansur’s favor and patronage through his literary ability. Humaydi’s biographical notice closes with the remark that reports (*akhbar*) are told about Tahir’s spiritual contemplations and how this espousal of the ways of the heretic mystic Hallaj led people to have a low opinion of him. Resonantly, but possibly only coincidentally, IAT’s son Ubaydallah wrote about al-Hallaj in his *History* (quoted in Ibn al-Nadim, 1971).

*Muhammad b. Yazid al-Tayfuri*

An Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Yazid b. Jafar b. Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Tayfur al-Tayfuri (d. 959) is mentioned by Samani (1912). The genealogy suggests that he is a descendant of IAT, even if the number of intervening generations casts doubt on the relationship.

**CLOSING REMARKS**

I have elsewhere attempted to evaluate the contribution of IAT to the development of *adab* (Toorawa, 1998a). In that study I attempted to identify IAT’s professional affiliations and doctrinal preferences, to draw a sociogram of him and his associates, and to assess the impact of writerly and bookish culture on him and others like him. Here, I have focused, rather, on his biography. Constructing IAT’s biography is rendered difficult by the fact that little material, relatively speaking, is available by, or about, him. But three important observations can be drawn, further research into which will no doubt prove important to the rearticulation of a history of *adab* in the ninth century.

The first of these concerns IAT’s Khurasanian background. As Madelung (1988), and others besides, have observed, the role of Khurasan in the formation of an Arab-Islamic identity is of great importance and has not received the attention it deserves. IAT provides a convenient point of departure for a study of the role of Khurasanians in the development of *adab* in particular.
REFERENCES


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Without the encouragement of Professor R.W. Allen, my interest in the history of the Arabic literary heritage of the early days, and his patience and willingness to provide advice and guidance, this research would not have been possible. I would like to express my gratitude to him for his support and cooperation throughout the project.

Research for this article was undertaken in the context of doctoral research under the supervision of Professor R.W. Allen. I am grateful to him for his guidance and encouragement throughout the project.

The aim of this article is to explore the history of the Arabic literary heritage and to provide a comprehensive overview of the development of the genre. The research was conducted in close collaboration with Professor R.W. Allen and under his guidance.

No one can claim to have written the history of the Arabic literary heritage, but it is hoped that this article will provide a valuable contribution to the field.

The Arabic literary heritage is an important part of the cultural heritage of the Middle East, and it is essential that it is preserved and studied for future generations.

The Arabic literary heritage has been the subject of much research and debate, and it is hoped that this article will contribute to the ongoing discussion.

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1 For the sake of non-specialists, transliteration has been simplified as much as possible; specialists will have no difficulty recognizing names and words. The abbreviation "b." for 'ibn', 'son of', has been retained. Dates of death are included after the names of authors. Common Era dates are used but Hijri dates (denoted 'H') are mentioned where necessity dictates. Translations throughout are mine.

2 Principal primary sources (in chronological order): Ibn al-Mutazz (1968); Masudi (1974); Ibn al-Nadim (1971); Marzubani (1965); Khatib (1931); Yaqut (1980); Dhahabi (1984); Sakhawi = Rosenthal (1968); Hajji Khalifah (1941-43).

Principal secondary sources (in chronological order): Keller (1908); Brockelmann (1937, 1943); Krackovskv (1955); Khaqani (1962); Boustany (1967); Sezgin (1969); Rosenthal (1971); Dayf (1973); Sezgin (1975); Ghayyad (1977); Azarnush (1988); Kimber (1998); Toorawa (1998 a)